

RELEASED IN PART  
1.4(B), 1.4(D)

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PTQ6494

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ACTION AF-01

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	IMMC-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-08	L-01	ADS-00	MFLO-03
	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OCS-06	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01
	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	FMP-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00	DRL-09
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O 131716Z JUL 95  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3975  
INFO RWANDA COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 PARIS 16724

ROME FOR EMBASSY VATICAN

LONDON FOR YOUNG

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, PINS, RW, BY, FR  
SUBJECT: RWANDA/BURUNDI COORDINATOR'S PARIS  
- CONSULTATIONS: TOWARD A REGIONAL POLITICAL  
- CONFERENCE

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT, FOREIGN GOVERNMENT  
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INFORMATION.

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2. SUMMARY. SPECIAL COORDINATOR FOR RWANDA/BURUNDI BOGOSIAN, IN CALLS AT THE FRENCH PRESIDENCY (ELYSEE), AND FOREIGN MINISTRY (QUAI) LEARNED OF FRANCE'S SENSITIVITY TO CRITICISM OF ITS ACTIONS IN RWANDA AND BURUNDI, ITS DESIRE TO AVOID RAISING TENSIONS IN EITHER COUNTRY, AND ITS ENTHUSIASM FOR A REGIONAL POLITICAL CONFERENCE IN THE REGION. END SUMMARY.

3. IN A JULY 11 CALL ON ELYSEE [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] AMBASSADOR RICHARD BOGOSIAN, EMPHASIZED THE USG'S CONTINUED DISQUIET AT THE SITUATION IN RWANDA AND BURUNDI, ITS DESIRE FOR CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT REGARDING THOSE COUNTRIES, AND THE NEED FOR A LONG-TERM VIEW OF THE SITUATION THERE.

ELYSEE SEEKS REGIONAL POLITICAL CONFERENCE  
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4. AFTER A PRELIMINARY COMMENT THAT FRANCE'S FIRST PRIORITY WAS ITS FORMER COLONIES RATHER THAN RWANDA OR BURUNDI, [REDACTED] REPLIED THAT A SOUND APPROACH TO THE AREA'S PROBLEMS WOULD BE TO CONVENE A CONFERENCE IN THE LAKES REGION, A CONFERENCE WHICH WOULD INCLUDE ALL REGIONAL POLITICAL ACTORS AS WELL AS OTHER INTERESTED STATES AND ORGANIZATIONS IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, SUCH AS THE U.S., FRANCE, THE EUROPEAN UNION, THE UN THE OAU. HE SAID THAT THOUGHT SHOULD BE  
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GIVEN TO INVITING ZAIRE. HE ALSO WONDERED WHETHER THERE MIGHT BE AN APPROPRIATE ROLE FOR THE VATICAN TO PLAY, GIVEN THE FACT THAT BOTH RWANDA AND BURUNDI ARE OVERWHELMINGLY CATHOLIC.

5. THE GOAL OF SUCH A CONFERENCE, IN [REDACTED] VIEW, WOULD BE TO WORK OUT NEW RULES FOR POLITICAL POWER-SHARING AND GUARANTEES AMONG ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED, BECAUSE IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT THE FORMULAE AND ELECTORAL PROCESSES WHICH HAD BEEN IN

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PLACE SINCE INDEPENDENCE HAVE NOT WORKED. WITHOUT SOMETHING OF THIS NATURE, TUTSI DOMINATION OF THE REGION WOULD BECOME A FACT, AND THE CYCLE OF VIOLENCE AND REVENGE THAT HAD CHARACTERIZED THE REGION SO LONG WOULD BE BOUND TO REPEAT ITSELF. ALL POLITICAL ACTORS IN THE REGION, INCLUDING BURUNDI TUTSI LEADER BAGAZA AND RWANDAN VICE PRESIDENT KAGAME, SHOULD BE INVITED; "NONE SHOULD BE EXCLUDED", HE STRESSED. THE INCENTIVE FOR REGIONAL PARTICIPATION. THE BEST WAY FOR THIS TO WORK WOULD BE TO CHANNEL ALL ASSISTANCE MULTILATERALLY, RATHER THAN BILATERALLY. THIS, HE OPINED, WOULD IN ANY EVENT BE LESS EXPENSIVE THAN THE COSTS OF A MILITARY INTERVENTION. THE PENALTY FOR NON-COOPERATION ON THE PART OF ANY OF THE REGIONAL PLAYERS, [ ] SUGGESTED, SHOULD BE COMPLETE INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION: THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD DECLINE TO HAVE ANY FURTHER DEALINGS WITH THOSE WHO AVOID THE CONFERENCE.

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6. [ ] SAID THAT THE OAU WAS READY TO SEEK SUCH A CONFERENCE, AND OPINED THAT UN SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS-GHALI WAS READY AS WELL. HE FELT STRONGLY THAT  
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THE CONFERENCE SHOULD BE UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE UN AND THE OAU, AND THAT THE FORMER SHOULD ISSUE INVITATIONS. HE SUGGESTED THAT TWO OR THREE SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS (NOTE: HE DID NOT SPECIFY WHICH THIRD MEMBER HE HAD IN MIND) SHOULD BEGIN TO PRESSURE BOUTROS-GHALI IN THIS DIRECTION.

FRENCH RELATIONS WITH AFRICA  
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O 131716Z JUL 95  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3976  
INFO RWANDA COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 PARIS 16724

ROME FOR EMBASSY VATICAN

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LONDON FOR YOUNG

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7. IN RESPONSE TO BOGOSIAN'S QUERY,   
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CHARACTERIZED FRANCE'S RELATIONSHIP WITH BOTH RWANDA  
AND BURUNDI AS COMPLEX, BUT STRESSED THAT FRANCE'S  
CLOSEST RELATIONS WERE MORE WITH ITS FORMER COLONIES.  
WITH REGARD TO AFRICA MORE GENERALLY,  SAID THERE  
WAS NO CLEAR SUCCESSOR TO HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY AS "DEAN" OF  
FRANCOPHONE AFRICAN PRESIDENTS, AND OPINED THAT THIS  
WAS PERHAPS NOT SUCH A BAD DEVELOPMENT: IT FORCES EACH  
PRESIDENT TO TAKE ON MORE RESPONSIBILITY FOR HIS  
ACTIONS. HE NONETHELESS SAW THE GRADUAL COALESCENCE OF  
A SORT OF "COLLEGE OF GODFATHERS" AMONG AFRICAN  
PRESIDENTS IN FRANCE'S FORMER COLONIES; HE MENTIONED  
DIOUF OF SENEGAL, KONARE OF MALI AND LISSOUBA OF CONGO  
IN THIS CATEGORY. WHEN BOGOSIAN ASKED WHETHER SOGLO OF  
BENIN (WHO HAD JUST VISITED PARIS) WERE AMONG THESE,  
 SHRUGGED AND SAID "MAYBE".

FRENCH MISTRUST, DISDAIN BOTH NGOS AND MEDIA  
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8. IN DISCUSSING THE ROLE OF NGOS AND THE  
INTERNATIONAL PRESS IN THE REGION,  EXCLAIMED  
SARCASTICALLY, "LONG LIVE THE NGOS; BUT THEY ARE JUST  
NOT IN THE SAME LEAGUE AS SOVEREIGN STATES". HE ADDED  
THAT THE GOF IS MISTRUSTFUL OF THE MEDIA, PARTICULARLY  
SINCE THE PRESS HAD RECENTLY GOTTEN IN THE HABIT OF  
"DEVOURING" THE GOF. HE SAID THAT THE GOF HOLDS BOTH  
THE PRESS AND THE NGO COMMUNITY "AT ARM'S LENGTH".

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QUAI: YOUR FEARS ARE OUR FEARS

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9. IN HIS JULY 11 CALL ON [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] BOGOSIAN ALSO STRESSED USG CONCERNS AT THE SITUATION IN RWANDA AND BURUNDI AND THE USG DESIRE FOR CLOSER CONSULTATION WITH FRANCE ON THESE MATTERS, CITING THE SECRETARY'S RECENT MESSAGE TO THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER. [REDACTED] BEGAN HER REPLY BY STATING THAT FRANCE SHARED MANY OF THE PREOCCUPATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES. SHE OBSERVED THAT BURUNDI HAD BEEN CHARACTERIZED BY REGULAR AND RECURRING EFFORTS TO ELIMINATE THE HUTU ELITES SINCE 1962. SHE THEN CHARACTERIZED FRANCE AS THE VICTIM OF CERTAIN NGOS, PARTICULARLY AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, WHICH, SHE SAID, CRITICIZE FRANCE FOR DOING NOTHING ON THE ONE HAND AND OF SUPPLYING ARMS TO RWANDAN EXILES ON THE OTHER, NEITHER OF WHICH IS TRUE.

BURUNDI: ARMS SANCTIONS, DEMINING  
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10. [REDACTED] STRESSED THAT FRANCE FULLY SUPPORTED THE NOTION OF OBSERVERS BEING POSTED IN REGIONAL AIRPORTS TO DETER ARMS TRAFFICKING, BUT THAT WITH THE AMOUNT OF ARMS ALREADY IN THE REGION, AND THE PORTABILITY OF ARMS OVERLAND, THIS WOULD HAVE LITTLE EFFECT. SHE SAID THAT FRANCE OBSERVED A DE FACTO ARMS EMBARGO ON BURUNDI, AND WOULD NOT SUPPORT THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO ON RWANDA. SHE FELT LIFTING THE EMBARGO ON RWANDA WOULD SERVE ONLY TO RAISE THE LEVEL OF TENSIONS THERE.

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NEVERTHELESS, FRANCE WOULD FULLY SUPPORT AN EXCEPTION  
TO THE RWANDAN ARMS EMBARGO FOR THE PURPOSE OF  
IMPORTING DEMINING EXPLOSIVES, AND WAS OF THE VIEW THAT  
THIS MIGHT EVEN BE PERMISSIBLE UNDER EXISTING U.N.  
RESOLUTIONS.

STILL OPPOSING INTERVENTION PLANNING  
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11. ☐ ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE U.S. AND FRANCE HAD 1.4(B)

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O 131716Z JUL 95  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3977  
INFO RWANDA COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 04 PARIS 16724

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NOT BEEN OF ENTIRELY THE SAME VIEW AS TO THE BEST WAY  
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TO PROCEED IN BURUNDI IN RECENT MONTHS, AND THAT FRANCE  
STILL BELIEVED THAT MILITARY INTERVENTION PLANNING WAS  
UNWISE BECAUSE IT WOULD BECOME KNOWN AND WOULD HAVE THE  
EFFECT OF WORSENING THE SITUATION, NOT CALMING IT. SHE  
THEN REITERATED THAT A GENERAL DEGRADATION OF THE  
SITUATION WOULD CERTAINLY SPARK AN (UNSPECIFIED)  
RESPONSE FROM FRANCE. (NOTE: SEPARATELY, A [REDACTED])  
[REDACTED] REASSURED US JULY 10  
THAT FRANCE WOULD STILL CONTEMPLATE MILITARY

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INTERVENTION IN SUCH A SITUATION. END NOTE).

FRENCH ACTIONS IN BURUNDI

12. AFTER MENTIONING THE EFFORTS OF THE FORMER FRENCH COOPERATION MINISTER TO GET THE PARTIES TALKING LAST APRIL, [ ] MENTIONED THE POLITICAL DECISION OF FRANCE TO FREEZE PART OF ITS MILITARY COOPERATION AS A REACTION TO THE KAMENGE MASSACRES. SHE FELT THAT THE ARMY WAS INDEED BEHAVING BETTER DESPITE THE PRESSURE UPON IT FROM POLITICAL EXTREMISTS. FRANCE CONTINUES TO TRAIN THE USI (UNITE DE SECURITE DES INSTITUTIONS) WHICH PROVIDES PROTECTION FOR SENIOR POLITICAL FIGURES. SHE STRESSED THAT FRANCE'S GOAL REMAINS ONE OF REDUCING TENSIONS, AND THAT RESULTS CAN BE OBTAINED WITH SUFFICIENT PRESSURE ON THE PARTIES [ ]

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STABILITY FACTORS IN BURUNDI

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13. [ ] OPINED THAT THE TUTSI-BASED UPRONA PARTY IN BURUNDI FEELS ENDANGERED BY HUTU EXTREMISTS, WHILE THE HUTUS HAVE ACQUIRED THE HABIT OF SEEKING FOREIGN SUPPORT. IN RESPONSE TO BOGOSIAN'S QUESTION AS TO HOW THE SITUATION MIGHT WORSEN, [ ] STATED THAT SHE FELT THE ARMY MIGHT KILL IF IT FELT ITSELF ENDANGERED, BUT THAT IT WAS NOT LIKELY TO UNDERTAKE GENERALIZED KILLINGS SINCE THE HUTU AND TUTSI POPULATIONS OF BURUNDI ARE NOW MOSTLY PHYSICALLY SEPARATED. WHILE AGREEING GENERALLY WITH BOGOSIAN'S POINT ABOUT THE NEED TO HAVE WITNESSES TO THE SITUATION, SHE NOTED THAT OBSERVERS THEMSELVES NEED PROTECTION.

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INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL

14. IN RESPONSE TO BOGOSIAN'S QUESTION ABOUT FRANCE'S POSITION ON THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL FOR RWANDA,

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[ ] REPLIED THAT FRANCE'S INTERNAL LEGISLATION TO PROVIDE FOR COOPERATION WITH THE TRIBUNAL WOULD HAVE TO WAIT UNTIL THE TRIBUNAL ADOPTED ITS OWN INTERNAL RULES OF PROCEDURE. ONCE THE COURT ADOPTS SUCH RULES, FRANCE COULD ENACT A LAW FAIRLY QUICKLY, AS IT DID IN THE CASE OF THE TRIBUNAL FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. SHE ALSO NOTED THAT FRANCE BELIEVED THAT THE TRIBUNAL SHOULD BE FINANCED NOT BY VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS, BUT OUT OF THE REGULARLY ASSESSED OBLIGATORY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE UN.

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HATE RADIO  
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15. AS A FINAL POINT, [ ] RAISED THE ISSUE OF "RADIO NYANGAMA", WHICH SHE SAID BORE A DISTURBING RESEMBLANCE TO "LA RADIO DES MILLE COLLINES" HATE BROADCASTS. SHE FOUND ITS APPEARANCE TROUBLESOME, BUT SAID FRANCE DID NOT HAVE A CLEAR NOTION AS TO HOW BEST TO PROCEED.

16. COMMENT. AMBASSADOR BOGOSIAN'S VISIT SERVED TO MOVE OUR DIALOGUE WITH THE FRENCH ON BURUNDI FORWARD A GREAT DEAL. THE MAIN NEW POINT WAS THE ELYSEE'S

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O 131716Z JUL 95  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
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EVIDENT ENTHUSIASM FOR A REGIONAL CONFERENCE. THE  
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ELYSEE PROPOSAL CONTAINS MUCH FOOD FOR THOUGH, AND A  
NUMBER OF PITFALLS AS WELL. SUCH A CONFERENCE COULD  
SERVE MOSTLY TO FURTHER AND INAPPROPRIATELY  
REHABILITATE MOBUTU. CHANNELING ASSISTANCE THROUGH  
STRICTLY THROUGH MULTILATERAL CHANNELS MIGHT BE  
INTENDED, IN THE FRENCH VIEW, TO PROVIDE FRANCE WITH A  
PREPONDERANT VOICE ON WHATEVER COMES OUT OF THE  
CONFERENCE. THE UP-FRONT GUARANTEES APPARENTLY  
ENVISAGED BY THE FRENCH MIGHT INVOLVE AID COMMITMENTS  
THAT THE USG IS UNWILLING OR UNABLE TO PROVIDE.

[REDACTED] PROPOSAL NEVERTHELESS PROVIDES A REAL 1.4(B)  
OPPORTUNITY TO FIND A COMMON GROUND WITH AFRICA'S  
LARGEST AID DONOR AND TO INFLUENCE THE PROPOSALS BEFORE  
THEY ARE SET IN CONCRETE. THO PROPOSAL HAS APPARENTLY  
NOT BEEN FULLY STAFFED OUT WITHIN THE GOF, AS EVIDENCED  
BY THE QUAI SILENCE ON THE ISSUE.

HARRIMAN

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